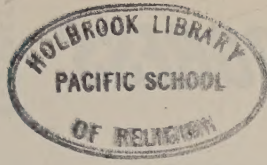


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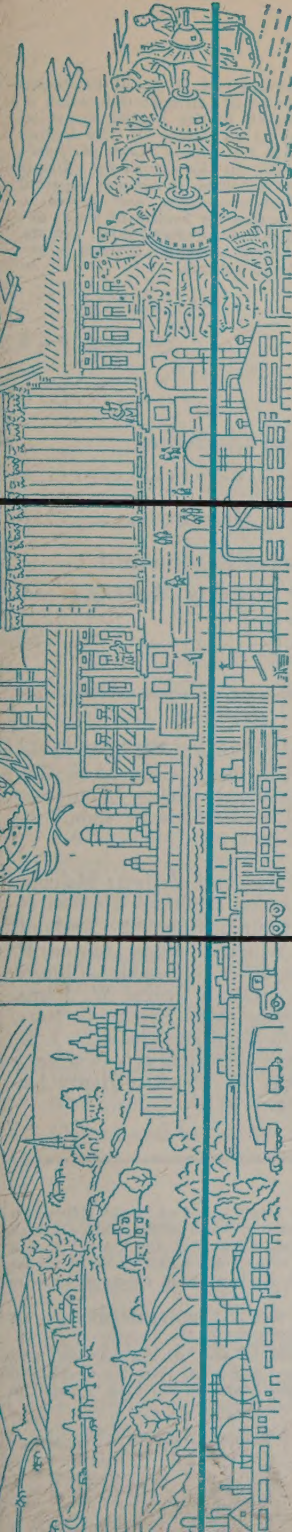


October 1958

SOCIAL PROGRESS

WORLD ROUNDUP

—Reports from Six Countries



SOCIAL PROGRESS

Published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (functioning as an agency of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America) to provide a forum for the church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the authors.

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From This Vantage Point

AN "ECUMENICAL CONVERSATION" in which eight persons from six countries participate is featured in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. The countries represented in the symposium are Lebanon, Pakistan, India, Thailand, Brazil, and Cameroun. The persons taking part are intimately connected with the Christian movement in these areas—both national leaders and fraternal workers from overseas. Dr. Frank Wilson, Educational Secretary of the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of The United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., worked with the editor in framing the questions to which the conversation is directed and in gathering and assembling the material.

The conversation underscores the role of the churches and church leaders of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in understanding and responding to the dramatic changes taking place in these areas.

In another issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS it is our hope to present a number of leaders from Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and Indonesia in a symposium on issues facing the churches in the Orient and in Southeast Asia.



In March of this year, Gayraud Wilmore, of the Social Education and Action staff in Philadelphia, was invited to take part in a consultation on theology and evangelism under the auspices of the World Council of Churches in Bossey, Switzerland. From Europe, Mr. Wilmore proceeded to the Middle East, where he met college and university groups and observed the work of the United Nations in its vast program of assistance to Arab refugees. His moving report of a visit to three refugee camps appears on pages 13-15.

Miss Helen Lineweaver, of our Washington office, reports that early in September the United States paid \$1.6 million into the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), bringing to \$4.5 million the sum contributed to the Fund's program this year. The United States pledge for 1958 is \$11 million. At the UNICEF annual meeting in May it was noted that there are 600 million children around the world who are in need of outside aid.

At a recent meeting of the Executive Board of the Children's Fund, Mr. Shafqat, of Pakistan, chairman of the Board, pointed out that there is a possibility that the Fund's work can begin to take in some other things than the immediately material. For the past twelve years the program has been a steady, large-scale, world-wide attack upon disease and malnutrition among the world's children. One new field of endeavor, for example, would be assistance to primary education where help is needed in many parts of the world and can profitably be provided. It is proposed that the Secretariat of the organization begin a careful study of these possibilities. This is encouraging, as *The New York Times* notes, and the record of UNICEF inspires confidence that results will be achieved.

In a time of fears and alarms, it is good to be reminded that the constructive work of the United Nations in many great programs of service can go forward. The UN Children's Fund is one of these programs.

The latest bulletin of the United States Committee for UNICEF recalls that the now well established "trick or treat for UNICEF" can be traced to Presbyterian origins. Something over \$700,000 was raised through "trick or treat" in 1957. We trust that in 1958 the amount raised for the Children's Fund through this device will surpass the million dollar mark. Churches in every American community should encourage the program by which Halloween is so usefully observed.



American responsibility with respect to international economic and technical co-operation was discussed in two recent issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS (January and June). The Mutual Security Appropriation Bill, as approved by the President, carried a total appropriation of approximately \$3.3 billion—around \$650 million less than the White House had requested and about \$360 million less than Congress had authorized. The "foreign aid" parts of the bill, however, fared well.

About 45 per cent of the total amount is earmarked for various kinds of international economic assistance and for the support of UN agencies and other programs serving human need. Another 45 per cent is for outright military assistance to nations with which we have mutual defense ties.

World Order Sunday highlights the "social action" calendar this month. The date is October 19. Many churches will use the World Order Sunday Message, which appears on pages 16-18. The Message directs attention to the celebration this year of the tenth anniversary of the adoption, on December 10, 1948, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

—The SEA Staff

WORLD ROUNDUP

The editors of **SOCIAL PROGRESS** have asked several Christian leaders in overseas areas to react to a list of questions dealing with selected religious and social issues.

Taking part in the symposium are the following persons:

Dr. Rhea M. Ewing, principal of Forman Christian College in Lahore, Pakistan.

Miss Sara Ralla Ram, teacher in a private school in Allahabad, India.

Rev. Ernest L. Fogg, of Bangkok, Thailand.

Dr. L. K. Anderson, Presbyterian field representative in Yaoundé, Cameroun (West Africa).

Miss Wadad Cortas, of Ahliah Girls College in Beirut, Lebanon.

Miss Frances Gray, of the Beirut College for Women.

Rev. S. William Antablin, of the Near East School of Theology in Beirut.

Mrs. Edward J. Fisher, of the Mission Center in São Paulo, Brazil.

In the following accounts, the members of the international symposium speak for themselves. In some cases, however, the reactions represent the common mind of a number of persons whom they have consulted before reporting to Philadelphia. Mrs. Fisher, for example, says that her "answers are a composite of the thinking of Dr. Richard Waddell, field representative and executive secretary of the mission; Dr. Peter Baker, president of Mackenzie Institute; and Mr. Roy Harper, treasurer of Mackenzie." Even so, Dr. Ewing notes the unofficial character of the conversation when he says that "these are my personal replies without involvement of Forman College or of the church organizations in Pakistan."

1. What are the major problems faced by the churches in your area?

Fogg: "The chief problem faced by the churches in southeast Asia is without doubt the frantic efforts of newly independent countries to achieve identity by appealing to their ancient cultures and religions. This synthetic revival for political purposes will destroy the integrity of those ancient systems. The reaction

when it comes will be against all religion."

Antablin: "I would say that the chief problems faced by the churches of the Middle East are the following:

"1. Survival. With the present re-awakening in the Arab world, the growing nationalism of its peoples,

the trend toward a single united Arab state, the increasingly elevated position of Islam as a consequence of this renaissance, what is to be the future of the minority Christian communities in this part of the world? Save for the Greek Orthodox community, all the Christian groups are related to, and are identified with, the West. A united Arab world may work out its hostility toward the West by discriminating against and persecuting these Christian communities which are historically and organizationally tied to European and American culture.

"2. The perennial embarrassment of the Protestant community because of the foreign policies of the United States and of Great Britain. The Protestant communities in the Arab lands are largely the product of American and British church activity. Presently these communities continue to be actively tied to the United States and to England. The United States and Great Britain are nominally Protestant countries. How can the indigenous Protestant communities in the Middle East justify from a moral and Christian point of view some of the foreign policies of the United States and of England as these policies bear upon this part of the world?

"3. Minority consciousness. In some parts of the world 'minority consciousness' has produced strong, healthy, and active Christian churches. In the Middle East, however, minority consciousness has produced ingrownness. To our knowledge there is no concerted desire or effort on the part of the Christian communities to reach out be-

yond their borders. The most that these communities can hope for is to maintain their present boundaries. The fact that, in Lebanon at least, the body politic is divided according to religious communities tends to accentuate this minority feeling and makes it extremely difficult for the Protestant group to labor outside its own bounds.

"4. The large number of known religious sects that are entering the Middle East, especially Lebanon. In Lebanon up until the end of World War II, only two or perhaps four Protestant mission bodies were working in the field. Today, at least ten new Protestant missionary groups have entered our lands. In addition to these bodies several sects, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, and Bahaists, are also at work.

"5. The economic handicap of being a member of a minority religious community. This is especially true in the matter of employment. On the whole the best-educated people in all Lebanon are the Protestants. However, when it comes to applying for a job in Government-controlled areas of employment, each community is entitled to that number of workers which accords with the ratio of that community to the total Lebanese population. If this were true only in Government jobs, it would be bad enough. The Lebanese Government, however, is seeking to enforce this principle on all large-scale foreign enterprises, such as technical assistance programs and American oil companies. For this reason many well-educated Protestants have gone to other parts of the world. It can be said without the slightest doubt that

this single factor has contributed more to weakening the Protestant community than has emigration."

Cortas: "I would say too that the emergence of a strong Arab nationalism which might interfere with the smooth running of the Christian churches and try to control their activity is the major problem faced by the churches of the Middle East.

"Another problem facing the churches in the Middle East is that the Christian communities are minority groups in an expanding Moslem world. This has not been a serious issue in Lebanon, but the resurgence of Islam has put the Christian group in a minority position, and the churches are refusing to face the facts."

Gray: "It seems to me that the chief problem of the churches in this area is the heritage from the old 'Millet' system of the Ottoman Empire by which religious groups were considered as political entities and the numerical strength of religious communities determined their representation in and before the government. The system still prevails. This is a great deterrent to religious liberty in that any change of religious affiliation or denominational connection becomes a defection from one's community and group. This discourages and hampers the church in its outreach program."

Fisher: "The greatest problem facing the church in this part of Latin America (Brazil) is related to its expansion. The speed by which the church has grown and the extent of its growth have actually

passed the church's ability to provide leadership and finances to meet its own needs. Expansion beyond available facilities may endanger a movement's stability and quality. This situation threatens the Brazilian church.

"Another problem facing the Brazilian church today is concerned with the movements represented by the so-called sects. Their vitality and almost incredible expansion gives pause to the traditional denominational church. These groups challenge the churches to seek to understand them and to establish a working relationship based upon respect for their commitment and their evangelistic zeal. The extension of God's Kingdom in Brazil is circumscribed by the degree to which the denominational church and the sects can travel amicably along the same highway."

Ewing: "The chief problems faced by the churches of the subcontinent of Asia would seem to be (1) lack of adequate leadership; (2) economic insufficiency and the absence of a middle class; (3) inexperience in democratic procedures; (4) psychological complexes arising from the depressed class origins of the majority of the members; (5) psychological, social, and economic handicaps facing a minority community in an avowedly Islamic state."

Anderson: "There are three major problems facing the Cameroun church:

"1. A resurgence of plural marriage among Christians, encouraged by an elaborate system of social security grants given by the Govern-

ment for prenatal care and for children from birth through college age. These grants are made available to all men regardless of the number of wives they may have. The church insists on monogamy and many regular attendants are debarred from free communicant membership because of these marital difficulties.

"2. A tremendous increase in alcoholism. The Camerounians have always had their palm wine and corn beer, but wine from France is now coming down by tankers, much in the manner of gasoline and oil. It is piped ashore into reserve tanks and taken into the interior in tank cars and trucks. The Government, alarmed at the rapid increase in drunkenness, with its natural after-effects of violence and crime, is trying to curb the traffic by enormous increases in import duties and restrictions on licenses to sell wines and liquors of any kind.

"3. Political activity endangering the church. With all Africa in political ferment and with the extreme nationalist movement, insisting on immediate independence from France, now outlawed in Cameroun and working as an underground activity, it is difficult for our pastors to keep from becoming involved in the conflict. Most of the church leaders deplore the violence and bloodshed that have followed every na-

tionalistic outbreak, but they cannot help sympathizing with the struggle for complete liberty even though we must all acknowledge that economic and technical aid will have to come from abroad for many years even if independence is achieved. Some churches are in danger of losing their spiritual service through their involvement in the political arena."

Ralla Ram: "In Government circles there is a strong group of Orthodox Hindus who are alarmed at the progress of Christianity throughout our country (India). They blame the Christian missionaries from the West and are trying to restrict the mission work of Western churches. They say, come into our country as doctors, teachers, and social workers, but do not preach the gospel.

"In India it is not easy to be a Christian. Evangelistic work has been greatly curtailed by the provincial governments in many parts of our country. But this persecution is good for us because Christians were becoming too soft. So we believe that in spite of everything Christianity is making headway in independent India. Very soon the misunderstanding about the work of Christian friends from abroad will be cleared up, and there will be no difficulty for those who will be coming to our country as fraternal workers in our churches."

II. Are the churches and church leaders aware of and sensitive to social issues?

Ewing: "The churches here seem to be more concerned with their own local problems than they are

with the social problems facing the country. Community is thought of in the religious rather than in the

sociological sense, and there is perhaps reluctance on the part of the churches to provide services for the total community according to need."

Fisher: "On the whole, I would say that the churches of Brazil are not sensitive to social problems in the country. Some of the church leaders are, of course, and though they often meet frustration, they are endeavoring to educate their congregations to the importance of Christian witness in the social field. It can be said that they are definitely making progress."

Fogg: "A church willing to proclaim the gospel in terms relevant to the social and economic problems of these countries today will incur increasing antagonism but will be in a much stronger position to minister usefully in times of upheaval to come."

Ralla Ram: "The Christians of India have pioneered in many forms of community service and in social advance. I could refer to the agricultural work in my own city of Allahabad, to Christian programs of village improvement, to the work of Christians among refugees at the time of partition in 1947.

"We should remember that in India the Protestant Church is evangelical in the deepest and broadest sense of that word. People become members by acknowledging Christ to be their Savior and by offering themselves for open baptism. In India we have done away with the denominations. Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, and some others have joined in the

United Church of Christ. When a non-Christian becomes a Christian he must attend a communicants class. When he is ready he is baptized. In training for membership in the church, he is impressed with his responsibility to 'live' his Christianity in every part of his daily life."

Gray: "The churches and church leaders are deeply sensitive to matters of national sovereignty and welfare, but they do not seem to be overly concerned with many of the social problems within the country. This is partly due to the fact that most of the church leaders are carrying far too heavy loads of responsibility, and have too little time for matters of social action.

"The Protestant evangelical community is a small minority not only here in Lebanon but throughout the Middle East. Its status is always tenuous in the extreme, and hence its tendency to be quiet in the area of social action and also in any type of overt evangelism. One has to know something of the history of religious persecution in this part of the world to appreciate the conservatism of the churches."

Antablin: "The one area of social concern where considerable thought has been given, and some work done, is the home and the family. Increasingly there is the conviction that the institution of the family must be put on a genuinely Christian basis. To this end the home and family committee has been in operation in the church for some four or five years. In the last

year or two, leaders of several Christian communities have publicly ex-

pressed concern about widespread prostitution in Lebanon."

III. How do people feel about the United States?

Fisher: "To generalize, one would say Brazil feels friendly and favorable toward the United States. Those leaning toward the communist line, of course, are distinctly unfriendly and are constantly talking about North American imperialism—the petroleum is ours, and so on. In the interior where the great majority of the people are uneducated and uninformed, it would be safe to say that opinions are formed on the basis of Americans with whom they have had contact. These, on the whole, are there to help; therefore they are favorably accepted. In the hierarchy of government it is well known that Americans are used as political pawns. As in other areas of the world, there is a growing tide of nationalism which often bespeaks an anti-Americanism as well as an anti-all-nations. This is not equated with cause or justification, but nevertheless does exist to some extent.

"As to some of the causes of friction and misunderstanding, certainly one is the overbearing attitude of many Americans, their imperiousness and arrogance in the face of customs and traditions foreign to their own ways of life. Friction is produced, also, between American haste and Latin lackadaisicalness. There is a strong feeling constantly expressed in some of the conservative papers that the

U.S.A. is neglecting Latin America when it comes to adequate loans and the grants. Most of the money, they say, goes to Europe and Asia while Latin Americans feel that there is great necessity here in order to forestall social revolution spearheaded by communists."

Cortas: "People have divided opinions about the United States. On the whole there seem to be two kinds of opinions.

"1. The opinion of people who have had contacts with American education or philanthropy has been very favorable. American education still has high prestige, not only in Lebanon, but all over this area. There is a great deal of appreciation of what has been done in the past and what is being done today.

"2. The opinion of the average citizen who is aware of the political tension and feels insecure about the future is usually unfavorable toward the States. The general belief is that the United States has been more interested by far in the welfare of Israel at the expense of listening to the needs of the Arab countries. What help has been given has often accentuated rather than minimized the tensions."

Gray: "The United States probably has more friends in Lebanon

than in any other country in the Middle East today. If ever there was a place where the so-called 'reservoir of good will' toward America was deep and vital it was here in this country which is even today nominally Christian in government and affiliation. This reservoir has been severely drained in recent years, the most critical draught having been America's support of the new State of Israel."

Antablin: "Although in general there is widespread criticism of the foreign policy of the United States as it relates to the Middle East, almost all the Arabs would like to be on more friendly terms with America. The Protestants and also the Catholic bodies are less critical of America's foreign policy because the only future they can look to is in terms of a closer relationship with the West. The Moslems and the Greek Orthodox, although temperamentally inclined toward a pro-America position, find themselves increasingly becoming anti-American. The average Moslem believes that the United States, more than anyone else, created and sponsored Israel, which they regard as the chief threat to the security of the Arab world. The Greek Orthodox, if he is forced to choose, will, I believe, look toward Moscow rather than to the Vatican. In a word, the Arabs like the United States (its peoples, its traditions, its institutions) but are strongly critical of

the foreign policy of America.

"The aspect of the United States' foreign policy about which the Arabs are most critical is that its chief aim seems to be to maintain close relations with two countries, Israel and Turkey, which the people of the Arab world regard as their greatest enemies."

Ewing: "In spite of some active propaganda, notably in the *Pakistan Times*, a widely read and deeply pink daily newspaper published in both English and Pakistani, the basic attitude of the Pakistani toward the United States is, I believe, friendly and appreciative of the help given both by the Christian organizations and by the United States Government and its agencies. At the same time there is the inevitable underlying resentment of the 'have-nots' against the 'haves'; and one hears rumors of complaints not supported by facts about the bad quality of American wheat and other American supplies and products. It is frequently said that India is receiving preferential treatment in financial aid, and that the United States has not used its influence adequately to secure settlement of the Kashmir problem as Pakistan wants it. The fact that a large share of American aid is given to the military organization on the one hand keeps the common man ignorant and unappreciative of it, and on the other, brings discomfort of spirit to many of us in Christian work."

IV. To what extent is racial segregation in America a factor in the attitudes of people toward the United States?

Fogg: "Thailand has a deep and long-standing friendship toward the United States. This friendship, however, is being sorely tried at this point. Persistent red propaganda has, of course, seized on every opportunity to discredit the United States. Racial segregation in America is the most effective red weapon at the moment. Since awareness of the problem has come as something of a shock to the Siamese, it shakes their confidence in the basic integrity of the United States."

Anderson: "The Little Rock affair, the Texas railroad incident, the Howard Johnson restaurant incident were all headlined in the local press, which uses a great deal of 'boiler plate' on the more sordid aspects of American life. Probably the fact that the missionaries from America, for the past seventy-five years, have been the only non-African people in many communities has helped to interpret America to the people of the Cameroun in such a way that the sensational press and anti-American political propaganda cannot make much headway. The American missionaries have not been sinless when it comes to racial discrimination, but Africans of South Cameroun have had too many selfless lives spent among them to be easily turned from affectionate regard to suspicious hate. Interestingly enough, and much to our discomfort and distress, Protestants in

South Cameroun are almost universally referred to as Americans."

Ewing: "Racial segregation in the United States, while reported as propaganda items in the *Pakistan Times*, is, I believe, of no special moment to the man of the street."

Gray: "Racial segregation in America is headline news here in times of crisis—such as the continuing Little Rock episodes—as it is in all other countries overseas, and it is without doubt the best anti-American propaganda material in the communist pouch. Enemies of America make constant capital of every isolated incident, and American democracy is more on trial at this point than at any other. In the Middle East, however, the concern with this issue is not so deeply felt as their own greater concern for liberty and justice within the Arab world. This issue is such an absorbing one to every Arab that there is little surplus emotional energy left for any other."

Antablin: "Until the communists began to magnify this issue in the last year or two, very few of the peoples of the Arab world were aware of the problem of race in the United States. Now that the communists have made this an issue, those who are anti-Western have capitalized on the problem."

(Continued on page 19)

TEN YEARS AFTER

Arab Refugees in Lebanon

TEN years have elapsed since the Palestinian refugees began their exile and today most of them are little better off than they were ten years ago. In 1951 there were 855,287 (according to an estimate acceptable to the Arab governments) living outside Israel. Today, by the same measure, there are 933,556, including those who have re-established themselves. The refugees under UN care still draw the low ration of 1,500 to 1,600 calories per diem. To date, despite countless plans, which have failed largely because of the Arab governments' refusal to negotiate with Israel, they have received no recompense for the lands and homes they left in Palestine. More than 360,000 languish in UNRWA huts and camps outside Israel with sporadic employment at exploitative wages nursing bitter feelings toward those whom they hold responsible for their plight.

I visited three of their camps in Lebanon in the spring of 1958. The Mia Mia Camp, about three miles southeast of Sidon, has a population of about 1,758 persons living in huts erected by the refugees themselves with UNRWA. I have seen many migrant agricultural workers' slums in the U.S., but never such miserable housing as this. There have been 365 families living here since 1948. There are children at the Mia Mia Camp who have never known

any life except that of an exile behind the wire fence of a refugee camp.

The Wavel Camp in Baalbek is not much better. Here 561 families are living in 26 housing units or 558 rooms. For 2,656 persons there are 11 water taps at one central distribution point, 69 latrine cubicles, and 18 showers in the common bathroom. It is nothing short of miraculous that a serious epidemic has not long since swept through camps like this. At present there are only 19 full-time physicians staffing the 16 refugee camps in Lebanon which contain 101,352 persons. According to the 1957 report of UNRWA, there are 153 beds available in Lebanon for refugee patients with tuberculosis, 12 for maternity cases, 27 for pediatric and 40 for mental patients.

Walking through the Wavel Camp with Mr. C. C. Vlachopoulos, Chief Liaison Officer for UNRWA, and with the camp director, we were suddenly accosted by a tearful mother leading by the hand a six- or seven-year-old boy whose thin body was badly twisted with polio. She pleaded with Vlachopoulos for medical help saying that there had been promises of hospitalization, but nothing had been done. When I asked him about the possibility of getting some help for the child immediately, Vlachopoulos shrugged.

"There is a long waiting list for cases like this," he said, "and our facilities are extremely meager."

"What about some help from Beirut?" I asked. "Aren't there doctors there who could volunteer some time to treat emergency cases in the camps?"

He gave me a quick, wry smile. "Beirut physicians work for money. These people have nothing to pay: no money, no medical care."

The largest camp I visited was the Gouraud Camp, which is also in the Baalbek area, about fifty-six miles northeast of Beirut, where U.S. marines are now policing an uneasy stalemate in the rebellion against the Chamoun administration.

The Gouraud Camp was formerly a disciplinary barracks for 800 French soldiers. Today it is home for 2,995 men, women, and children who are crowded into the dark, dungeonlike cubicles.

The installations at Gouraud include a dispensary and a clinic (serving both the Gouraud and Wavel Camps), a social welfare center, and two schools for 224 girls and 371 boys. It was an unforgettable experience to visit those classrooms where two or three children were crowded on a seat for one, sharing a ragged textbook. Even under these almost impossible circumstances there is hope for these boys and girls who at least are saved from the boredom of this sedentary existence by daily school. But one cannot help wondering what kind of future awaits them if the problem of a permanent home and gainful employment for their families remains unsettled for another ten years.

After the tour of Gouraud, I met

with about fifteen of the leading men of the camp in the tiny camp office just inside the gate. I could sense an air of expectancy. There was steam under pressure in this little room and I was going to have the opportunity to see it blow off.

Mr. Vlachopoulos, serving as my interpreter, introduced me to the group as an American churchman interested in refugee problems and invited their comments. Thereupon followed the most bitter and vituperative attack on the United States that I have ever heard. Did the people of the United States think that this life in the refugee camps could be endured much longer? Did the people of the United States know that their foreign policy was playing into the hands of the imperialistic ambitions of Israel? Whose side were we on anyway? Why were we so ambiguous and inconsistent in our Near East policy statements? Is it not demonstrably true that they of all the people in the world were the most mistreated, oppressed, and deceived? Were not these very Jews who had robbed them of homes, lands, and livelihood now being celebrated, protected, and coddled by American money and power?

For a full half hour I took the full brunt of the attack as, in their angry eyes, the representative of the American Government which had betrayed them. At one point one of the most excited of the leaders exclaimed: "Suppose we should keep you in these dungeons by force! Hold you prisoner! Perhaps your family would become alarmed and then the American Government would see how we live and die in these miserable conditions!"

The encounter became very tense at several points. At last I was permitted to speak and I did, haltingly and with dwindling conviction in the validity of my arguments. I tried weakly to assure them of our concern—especially the concern of the churches. I tried to explain the difficult position of the U.S. Government in the Middle East cross fire. I tried to remind them of the dereliction of the Arab states vis-à-vis the refugee resettlement problem.

Tempers cooled visibly and a new phase of discussion suddenly commenced when someone identified me with "the suffering people of color" all over the world who, like themselves, were the objects of the prejudice and tyranny of the white people of the West. There was no doubt that some of the phraseology bantered in that conversation was manufactured in the propaganda mills of Moscow and Cairo. Yet I would hastily add that these people were not communists. There may have been communists among them, but for the most part these men were Arab nationalists who were as distrustful of the East as they were of the West. Their burning conviction—the injustice of their own situation which was daily permitted by the great powers. Their overarching concern and desire—the absolute destruction of the State of Israel.

NOTHING that can be said to desperate, angry men like those at the Baalbek camps will dispel their sense of hopelessness, and of abandonment. What they demand is action. Action to persuade Israel to accept them without condition and

to reinstate them on the lands which they left in Palestine. No amount of American sympathy, Christian charity, or material assistance from UNRWA and other relief agencies can compensate for what they believe they have unjustly suffered at the hands of Israel and the great powers supporting Israel.

Whether or not one attributes the plight of the Palestinian refugees to Israel or to the Arab nations, the grievances and impatience of the refugees themselves have to be respected and reckoned with. I would heartily concur with A. Willard Jones, Executive Secretary of the Near East Christian Council Committee for Refugee Work (NECCCRW), in the preface to his 1957 report. "We . . . appeal for the development under divine guidance of a just and viable political solution which will free us to get on with our concluding task of helping the refugees to re-establish their homes and means of livelihood."

"This refugee problem," Dr. Jones well asserts, "is the focus of deadly infection which poisons the whole body of the Near East. During the past ten years the patient has suffered much. . . . The cause of all these convulsions and violent manifestations continues."

Aside from their generous contributions through Church World Service and NECCCRW, the American churches have an important role to play in the public discussions and formulation of American foreign policy which will deal more radically and imaginatively with the worsening problem of the Arab refugees.

—Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr.

Christians Are Concerned for Human Rights and Responsibilities

OUR concern with rights and responsibilities is founded on the Christian conception of man and his destiny. The conviction that we are children of God, created in his image, redeemed by Jesus Christ, and called by him to love our neighbors as ourselves, imposes upon us inescapable duties. Christians hold that the observance of human rights is an essential witness to faith in God and the recognition of the oneness of his human family. Each member, without discrimination, is to be assured fullest opportunity to know and to fulfill God's will. While prompted by a distinctive faith and committed to particular goals, Christians nevertheless feel impelled to cooperate with all who sincerely seek to promote the recognition of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world.

Human Rights and World Order

Human rights are placed in the total framework of human life by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, from the opening words of its Preamble. Recognition of the dignity and rights of man must be built into the foundation and into the structure of world order.

Emphasis on human rights requires a balance of emphasis on social and individual responsibility. To assure human rights for all men and to foster responsible behavior by all men become our common concerns. Both are essentials in the development of democratic society.

Dedication to human rights and responsibilities provides added incentive for action in relation to disarmament, economic and technical assistance, refugees, dependent peoples, and the development of a world society under the rule of law. Progress toward world order promotes conditions which can be made favorable to the exercise of human rights and responsibilities.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

On December 10, 1948, at the third session of its General Assembly, the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, forty-eight in favor, none against, and eight abstentions. The British Magna Carta (1215), the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789), and the Bill of Rights in the first ten amendments (1791) to our United States Constitution were significant landmarks in the age-old struggle for freedom, but they were achieved within separate nations. In

A Message for Use in the Churches on

World Order Sunday

October 19, 1958

the Universal Declaration, for the first time in history, governments representing the greater part of the world's population reached agreement on a broad definition of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

What is this Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

First, the emphasis is on *human rights*. The Preamble and thirty articles cover virtually the whole of man's life in society. The traditional rights of man are dealt with, such as life and security of person, freedom from arbitrary arrest, religious liberty, and freedom of association and assembly. Also included are economic, social, and cultural rights—to be sought in accordance with the organization and resources of each state—such as work and free choice of employment, rest and leisure, education, and participation in cultural life. These human rights are not merely named; they are given content by definition. For example the article on religious liberty, to which representatives of the churches made a substantial contribution in preparation, declares:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance."

Secondly, the document is a *Declaration*. It is not a treaty or law in form. It is proclaimed by the General Assembly as

"a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance . . ."

Thirdly, the Declaration is *universal*. The rights it proclaims should be recognized and observed everywhere for all—

"without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status."

After Ten Years

Throughout 1958, the United Nations, many governments, and non-governmental organizations, are observing the tenth anniversary of the

Universal Declaration, with some special celebrations on December 10. In these observances, Christians and churches have a part to play. The Declaration unmistakably reflects, although it does not explicitly express, a Christian point of view, and it defines an objective toward which Christian effort must be directed. It holds that all human beings "are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in the spirit of brotherhood." It claims that "everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible."

The Declaration has influenced the constitutions of nations which have recently attained independence. Translated into forty-seven languages, it is making an impact upon laws and court decisions. Its provisions have been effectively invoked in numerous situations where human rights have been violated. Restrictions upon the proclamation of the gospel and the life of Christians have been eased or removed because of its internationally accepted standard of religious freedom. Wherever violations and restrictions of any human rights continue to occur, a growing world conscience alerted by the Universal Declaration presses for redress.

Into the Future

An anniversary commemoration of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights becomes meaningful only as it awakens a commitment to renewed study and action.

In the Nuclear-Space Age, the attainment of individual and collective human rights, as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Genocide Pact, depends not only on the commitment of individuals but also on the development of responsible organization to meet the needs of the world human family.

For the Christian, a first requirement is to remove the beam from his own eye—to begin by putting his own house in order. Where are we falling short in human rights in our local church and community, in our nation, and in our international relations? We can use the Declaration as a measure and a guide for more specific practice of our principles. . . .

The use of the Declaration as a means of promoting observance of human rights everywhere should be steadily encouraged. The moral force of world opinion can make some impact upon sovereign nations. No government can consistently flout that power. Even so, for fuller assurance of human rights we continue to work for legally binding international conventions and covenants.

As the standards set in the Universal Declaration become more widely reflected in practice, methods of war and coercion can yield to processes of persuasion and of appeal to reason and conscience. In prompting respect for and observance of human rights including the right to life, we promote world peace—with order, justice, and brotherhood.

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Additional copies of this Message may be ordered from the National Council of Churches, 120 E. 23d St., New York 10, N. Y. 5 cents each; \$3.00 a hundred.

WORLD ROUNDUP

(Continued from page 12)

Cortas: "Racial segregation in the United States is being exploited by people here against America. The existence of segregation in America seems to be in contradiction with the democratic principles on which the United States was founded."

Ralla Ram: "When people ask to what extent racial segregation in America influences the attitudes of people of India toward America, I have to say that we are very much aware of the problem, but we cannot say a word against it. We have to hang our own heads in shame. The evils of the caste system are often greater than the evils of segregation in the United States. People of India know about the segre-

gation problem, but they cannot stand up and criticize. Unless we overcome our own problem in India, we have no right to rebuke America. Throughout India the common man, however, is bound to think of America in terms of, first, dollars and, second, racial segregation."

Fisher: "Brazil is not completely devoid of unbecoming racial attitudes. If anything, racial segregation in the United States confuses our Brazilian friends. They cannot understand the American dilemma, but many are beginning to feel that the Supreme Court decision of 1954 on school desegregation will somehow lead to a solution of the problem in the years to come."

V. To what extent is the country or area influenced by the impact of America?

Gray: "A book could be written about the impact of America upon Lebanon in the yeoman pioneer service that has been performed in nearly every field of progress—education, health, relief, most especially that of the church-related and voluntary welfare programs. George Antonius in his significant book, *The Arab Awakening*, traces the birth and development of the whole democratic liberal movement in the area to the dynamic power of Christian education made available to the people of the Middle East in the last century by missionaries from overseas.

"American technical assistance in

the last five years has been highly significant and useful in the economic development of the region."

Cortas: "Lebanon, more than any other Arab country, is greatly influenced by the impact of America. A great deal of unhealthy American influence comes to us through the cinema, the radio, the press. The healthy influence does not put up a show. Still it comes through educational institutions, mostly."

Antablin: "As far as Lebanon is concerned, we are not aware of any country in the world that is more influenced by America than it is.

This is true in every area of its life. So much is this so that even though almost every Lebanese is critical of American foreign policy especially as it relates to the Arab world, yet Lebanon as a country is fully committed to being identified with the West and with the United States in particular."

Ewing: "Except for the areas in which the village agricultural and industrial development program has carried on its increasingly effective functions, Pakistan's villages can hardly be said to have felt the impact of America at all, save for the far-spread underprivileged village Christians to whom Christ has been made known through the mission of American churches. In the cities, especially since 1950, there has been an increasing number of resident Americans in the diplomatic and related services. Most of them stay far too brief a period to have much impact as individuals, and not all have been good advertisements for the American way of life, for example, in the matter of semipublic cocktail parties in a country which regards the use of alcoholic beverages as basically sinful. American films of the type that exaggerate horror, sex, and luxury are likewise adverse advertisements in the cities. On the other hand, the gifts of food and clothing, especially for flood relief through Church World Service; the genuine friendliness of most Americans living in Pakistan; and the general reputation and position of America among the nations—all have

brought a happy influence to bear on the people of every stratum of society in the city."

Fogg: "Thailand has been influenced considerably by the impact of America, both by virtue of the official programs of aid and armaments and the unofficial programs of good will and assistance. The cornerstone of friendship was laid by the American missions. The Rockefeller Foundation through its medical program in this country before the war made a lasting impression.

"The new ambassador has been quoted as asking the vice-premier, 'Why does America have such a bad press in Thailand?' The answer given was this: 'You should do as the missionaries who work for the common people.' When the American missionary doctor (Cort) retired, the whole province turned out to do him honor."

Fisher: "Americans may be found everywhere in Brazil—in agriculture, mining, industry, business, schools, the arts. The impact is constantly spreading and becoming more intense in metropolitan areas. It should be said too that our evangelical educational institutions in the past forty or fifty years have certainly left their mark all over Brazil, not only in a spiritual way but in a lifting of the educational level. The impact of the United States across the last century has been tremendous and as a rule beneficent."

VI. Can you tell us something about the economic development of the country?

Ewing: "The answer to this question can probably best be had from official and scientific studies made by various organizations, but my impression is that the economic condition of Pakistan is far from satisfactory. This impression is strengthened by recent measures taken to tighten controls, especially of imports, and to impose new taxes. There are scarcities of wheat, rice, sugar, and many consumer goods. The country is not dependent on the American market, I should say, except in jute, nor on American investments. International economic assistance is, however, indispensable both now and for a long time to come. Without this the rupee would have an even lower value in the free market than it now has."

Fogg: "The country has a relatively sound and independent economy. The postwar demand for the rice surplus has made this decade a prosperous one.

"Work is now being done to develop secondary products and some light industries. The area is not strictly dependent upon American markets or American investments. American business investment in this country is relatively small. The country has been the site of a number of international projects, most of which have been very successful. None of these projects, however, has been large. The country cannot be said to be dependent upon international economic assistance in any-

thing like the degree that prevails in Vietnam, Korea, or even Japan."

Anderson: "Cacao, the fruit from which cocoa is made, is the main export from Cameroun, and the rise and fall in the annual market price depends on the fluctuations in the American market. Most commercial traffic is with France. The French market governs, to a large extent, the economy of Cameroun. Immediately after the war the Marshall Plan and Point IV programs did much to make possible tremendous development here in educational and medical facilities and in road building. Since these funds were restricted or removed, a French fund for economic and social development in all French overseas territories (FIDES) has been carrying on this good work, and millions are spent annually in this country for social and economic development, all coming from France."

Antablin: "The economic development of Lebanon is almost wholly dependent directly or indirectly upon foreign investors and investments. The largest single investor is the United States. Without American financial aid, Lebanon would go bankrupt overnight. As it is, because the country is so heavily subsidized from abroad, Lebanon has the highest standard of living of any country in the entire Middle East. (This comparison does not include Israel since we do not have access to in-

formation on that country.) Lebanon's credit is very good, and for this reason Lebanon has never been denied the international economic assistance it has asked for."

Gray: "Lebanon is the gateway to the Middle East and western Asia, and in recent years there has been the most strenuous development of all forms of economic activity. The source of income is highly diversified, and at least fifty per cent of its consumer goods are imported. Neighboring Syria is its largest supplier, providing large amounts of unprocessed agricultural products for the country, and the United States comes second, providing about \$30 million worth of consumer goods for 1957. Over one hundred United States firms have regional offices or representatives in Beirut. Beirut is a free port, however, and is not dependent upon American markets for its welfare, although the latter have been highly beneficial to it.

"Although not dependent upon international or upon American economic assistance for its basic livelihood, these programs have been of great usefulness in many areas of national development. Over 38 millions of dollars have been expended in Lebanon in the last five years under the technical aid program of the United States, and this amount has been supplemented to a large extent by expenditures on the part of the national government."

Fisher: "Brazil is making great strides in industry, and falling far behind in agricultural production

and transportation. Inflation is rampant and continues year by year. New factories from Europe, from the United States, and from Japan are being established with foreign and Brazilian capital, with foreign management working with Brazilians. Automobile tires, pharmaceutical products, dental products, typewriters, automobiles, paper, and perhaps hundreds of other articles formerly imported, are now being manufactured in Brazil. All this gives work to local labor and Brazilian executives, as well as saves dollars for the importation of more necessary equipment, such as agricultural machines.

"Brazil should allow foreign capital and know-how to help in the development of its oil industry. Progress under state monopoly is being made, but not fast enough to satisfy local needs. Consequently, a large sum of dollars is used to buy foreign gasoline.

"Brazil is rapidly becoming self-sufficient. It would be more so if it would use technical assistance from abroad. Brazil is dependent upon the American market, but a greater interdependence is developing as the years go by. Brazil is annoyed with the United States' unwillingness to provide economic aid to the extent that Brazil wants, but it is also unwilling to have anything but economic aid. Brazil does not welcome foreign investment except in new fields, and here Brazil is insisting that new factories use Brazilian-made parts or products. In the automobile industry, for example, by 1960, 90 per cent of every car as-

sembled in Brazil must actually be processed in this country."

Ralla Ram: "Until the coming of independence, India's economic and land system were actually feudalistic. In each village there was a landlord. He had all the cultivators working under him and for him. Landlords often did nothing to improve the welfare of the villagers. The repeated subdividing of holdings made farming areas very small. People in India think that having a little land to one's self is a mark of prestige. The Government is trying to impress them with the idea that small fields are inefficient and uneconomic. They cannot bring in modern equipment. There is a great program of land reform under way. We should remember of course that the great majority of India's population lives in the nearly six hundred thousand villages of the country.

"One of Gandhi's great disciples, Vinoba Bhave, has inaugurated a very interesting program of voluntary land reform. He goes from village to village asking landlords to give him certain portions of their holdings. This land he turns over to the villagers. The movement is called Bhoodan. The land is processed by the Government. If it is arable, it is assigned with certain provisions to people who need it and can use it. In this way 400,000 acres have been given to the people. The rest of the land which Bhave has acquired, now nearly six million acres, is being rehabilitated for distribution and use. Gramdan is also a program instituted by Bhave in which whole villages are given to this saintly leader.

These villages are then set up as co-operatives under the leadership of men trained by the Government in the community development program.

"In India there must be a great deal of Government control because there is so little money. Government control is directed to helping the people develop their own abilities. In the northern part of India, the church is active in programs of village development.

"India has now begun the third year of its second five-year plan. The new plan, larger than the first, is modest in scope for the needs of the people. An increase in food production is still a major goal, but there is also emphasis on the development of basic industries such as coal, steel, electric power, machine tools, and chemicals. Even if the plan's goals are reached by 1961, India will have increased the average per capita income only from \$59 to \$69, as compared to over five hundred dollars in the U.S.S.R. and more than two thousand dollars in the U.S.A.

"Under the first five-year plan, there was a considerable economic development. Agricultural production went up 23 per cent, industrial production 33 per cent, national income 18 per cent. It should be noted that 90 per cent of the seven billion dollars spent under the first five-year plan was obtained within the country itself. During the first plan, the United States aided India with 300 million dollars in addition to the special wheat loan of 100 million dollars and World Bank loans totaling about 30 million dollars.

"In March of this year, the American Government agreed to give India 225 million dollars additional to help to finance the second five-

year plan. It is estimated that further loans of 500 million dollars will be needed in the next three years if India's economic program is to be successful."

VII. What are some of the new demands upon the churches occasioned by the new day in which we live?

Cortas: "The churches in the Middle East must continue to work as churches and to develop the spiritual values of the lives of the people by leading them toward better understanding of the will of God. The problem of the Christian church not only here but all over the world is one—that of serving the Kingdom of God instead of serving the kingdoms of this world. The churches here as elsewhere have allied themselves with power—often power was corrupt and they became contaminated. A sincere Christian approach soaked with humility and self-denial, free from the lust for power or prestige, is what our churches need.

"Only by loving our non-Christian world and trying to understand it, to help it, and to serve it with no feeling of pride or condescension, can we serve the Christian faith. Only by being immune to hatred can we be Christlike."

Antablin: "The new day puts heavy demands on the Christian church in the Middle East. In the wake of growing nationalism, the church must prove itself to be a truly indigenous religious community instead of a transplantation from the West. The church must de-

velop a leadership that is sufficiently qualified to direct the many institutions through which its life and outreach are expressed. With the possibility that financial assistance from abroad can be cut off any time, the church must develop a stewardship program that is strong enough to undergird fully the institutional work of the church. Christians in the Middle East must encourage and work for closer and more genuinely ecumenical relations between the Protestant communities and the non-Protestant ancient Christian communities."

Gray: "The Syria-Lebanon Mission of the Presbyterian Church, at its meeting this spring, voted to integrate its work fully with that of the Synod of the National Evangelical Church. This is a tremendous step forward and, as mission and church become completely one in the service of their Lord, should herald a new day of advance for the Christian movement in these lands."

Anderson: "The chief concern for some of us is that of the development of a sense of stewardship among the people of the Cameroun church. It is so easy to meet human suffering by appeals to the people

in America who are always generous and who sometimes embarrass us by insisting on helping when the people here could and should help themselves. How can we insist on self-support when so many, not of our group, are willing to assist? The churches here know of this situation and are too often anxious to benefit by American aid. How to be firm on insisting on self-help and at the same time not be accused of being 'imperialistic, prejudiced, selfish, unchristian'—that is the question."

Fisher: "The great demand is to be ready with finances and leadership to go into the new places that are opening up all over Brazil. Better trained men and women with a more liberal outlook are needed. The churches' finances are not in good shape. They need a campaign for consecrated giving all over Brazil, and a better system of church financial operation. Brazil is wide open for the preaching of the gospel. The country needs many more preachers, teachers, lay workers, nurses, consecrated businessmen, lawyers, doctors, and dedicated leaders in all walks of life.

"There are several Protestants active in political, labor union, Government, and educational circles. Their numbers should increase. Also, the churches should strive for a more ecumenical and liberal attitude toward other denominations in Brazil and around the world."

Fogg: "A great need in this part of the world is for leaders who are

trained and sensitive to the problems of the community. The church has been challenged not only to carry on but to improve its educational and medical services to the community. The resources are available for creative work in these fields and in many other fields. These resources must not be bypassed. The church is called on to witness decisively on the great issues of the day."

Ewing: "The Pakistan Mission as an organization was disbanded at the end of 1956 and the Lahore Church Council of the United Church in Pakistan (alias United Church in Northern India) took over entire responsibility for the administration of the work theretofore carried on jointly by the church and the mission. In some ways this was a paper transaction, for the personnel involved was largely the same in terms of membership on executive bodies and committees; but it was a definite change in psychological approach with an effort to give the church as such, the local church in which the fraternal delegates are members, the real responsibility, even though it may continue to be heavily dependent on overseas financial support. This new emphasis brings with it the need to eliminate all forms of paternalism, even among the nationals, and the training of the whole church in democratic procedures. The chief demand upon the church council is the adequate exercise of the *Episcopé* within its bounds according to what we call the Presbyterian tradition."

VIII. Have you any suggestions for American Christians traveling abroad?

Fogg: "American Christians who have the opportunity to travel abroad can be a great help to the Christian enterprise. As responsible Christians they should prepare themselves before they leave their country as to the nature of the Christian work in the countries they will visit. They should work out a schedule with at least one stop long enough and relaxed enough to give them an opportunity really to understand the people and the church.

"By way of comparison with the great number of tourists who arrive unannounced and depart uninformed, the moderator of the Church of Christ in Thailand, Rev. Puang Akkapin, spent weeks studying Indonesia and Burma before making trips to these countries. Not only was he able to refer in his speaking to historic relationships between Thailand and the country he was visiting, but he had a framework upon which to arrange the information and impressions he gained from the trip. He has spent over a month in preparing for the trip in which he is now engaged in the United States. At the age of sixty-four he is studying English conversation and is reading in Thai the biographies of great Americans. He is well informed as to the historic relationships between America and Thailand. He will be an intelligent traveler who will bring much to the United States and will bring away

useful opinions when he comes back.

"It would be relatively inexpensive for the visitor to write ahead and invite a number of national Christian leaders to dinner or to lunch. The time spent would be much more productive than the usual hasty trip around mission buildings. He should plan a couple of days for visits to churches or projects around the countryside. He will be wise to write ahead to the area representative and insist on opportunities to meet with national leaders.

"Above all he should remember that he is a person. If he wants to be treated as a person instead of a tourist statistic, he must take time and give people a chance to know him. If he is interested in the life and work of the national church, he is worth knowing whether or not he is a person of high ecclesiastical office. By the same token the people he will meet abroad are interesting persons. He will like most of them and will be richer for knowing them."

Anderson: "We welcome American friends who visit Cameroun. There was a time when we had no visitors, but now they are beginning to come. However, it takes time and effort on our part to make their visits worth-while and we do have the job that we came out to do always waiting for us. We wish it

could be possible for visits, even in such primitive and out-of-the-way places as Cameroun, to be made without depending overly much on the help of the missionaries themselves. The visitors could then see us in our normal habitat, at work, not in the unusual role of playing hosts and guides."

Ewing: "The most important single word I would give to American Christians traveling abroad is that they cherish their sense of sympathy. There is so much poverty, bad sanitation, ignorance, inefficiency, that the first temptation for an American may be to feel superior, then to feel disgusted and to condemn. In visiting Asian countries and their churches, let there be awareness of the extraordinary difficulty of functioning as Christians and Christian organizations in an environment where the fashion of thought and behavior is not that of the moral law of Christ. Therefore let us look for and be grateful for the best that we see or can find, minimizing and trying to understand the reasons for the worst without condoning it, certainly without exaggerating it."

Fisher: "As for American church people traveling abroad, I would only say be Christian. A further suggestion—look up our Protestant work, both American and national. See what is being done. Make contacts with national leaders."

Gray: "If there is one word of advice above others that one might offer to Americans traveling in this

part of the world, it is that they try to familiarize themselves a little about the recent history of the area before coming here and revealing their gross ignorance of the developments which are of major concern to every citizen."

Antablin: "I would say:

"1. Be more respectful of local customs and tradition.

"2. Do not have an attitude of superiority.

"3. Do not evaluate a people or a civilization solely in terms of technological progress.

"4. Be careful how you use your camera. Too often the eager photographer gives the impression that he is sitting in judgment upon the area that he is visiting.

"5. Gain as thorough an orientation as possible about the area that you are going to tour in advance of your trip.

"6. Be a Christian gentleman.

"7. Stay in one area long enough and get to know the nationals of that area well enough to discover what other people really do think about America and Americans."

Cortas: "Christians traveling through our part of the world are kindly urged to take the following approach:

"1. A desire to understand Islam as a great monotheistic religion which reveres many Christian ideas and believes in them.

"2. A desire to enter the Moslem world not with the idea of converting people to Christianity, but with the idea of winning their hearts to the message of love.

About Books

Defense of the Middle East: Problems of American Policy, by John C. Campbell. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper & Brothers, 1958. 392 pp. with index. \$5.00.

Tensions in the Middle East, edited by Philip W. Thayer. The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. 350 pp. with index. \$5.50.

The Middle East in Transition, edited by Walter Z. Laqueur. Frederick A. Praeger, 1958. 513 pp. with index. \$8.75.

Abraham to the Middle-East Crisis, by G. Frederick Owen. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957. 429 pp. with index. \$5.95.

Of these four books, the first three are recent definitive studies, which every careful student of the Middle East will want to read. The fourth book is a more popular writing which deals with the whole sweep of Middle East history from Abraham to Israel's withdrawal from Gaza in early 1957.

Defense of the Middle East is a worthy recent addition to the growing list of useful publications of the Council on Foreign Relations. The

book deals with the development of American interest in the Middle East, the various proposals for the defense of the area, the Baghdad Pact, the challenge of Nasser, the crisis of 1956, and the introduction of the Eisenhower doctrine—all this in the first 130 pages. The bulk of the book, the last two thirds, deals with American policies in the matters of military strategy, military aid, the cold war, alliances, economic programs, the Arab-Israel conflict, and the unity of the West in an approach to the problems of the Middle East. The book concludes with eleven "guidelines for policy."

Dr. Campbell, the author of the book, was formerly a member of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State. His present assignment is that of Director of Political Studies of the Council on Foreign Relations. In preparing the present volume, he worked with a competent study committee.

The four-day conference on Middle Eastern problems, sponsored by Johns Hopkins University in the summer of 1957, gave rise to the splendid volume edited by Dr. Thayer, Dean of the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins, on tensions in the Middle East.

Among the twenty-six persons who

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participate in the symposium, twenty-one are Americans and five are British. The group includes outstanding students of Middle East affairs.

Among the topics treated are the following: United States involvement in the Middle East, military importance of the Middle East, the place of the Middle East in world affairs, Arab political behavior, economic factors in the Middle East, technical assistance in the area, social changes in the Middle East, developments within Islam, the Cyprus problem and the problem of Israel, legal aspects of the Suez situation, the role of the UN in the Suez crisis, and communism in the Middle East.

The Middle East in Transition deals with recent political and social developments (with wide repercussions) in a region that has become the world's most sensitive trouble spot. Thirty-four authorities present essays on such things as the search for Islamic democracy, unity and dissension in the Arab world, economic development in the Middle East, the middle class in the Arab world, land reform in Egypt, political trends in the Arab world, Arab nationalism, self-determination in the Sudan, Turkey, and the Middle East, the crisis in Iran, origins of Israel, the refugee problem, developments in Iraq, and several papers on communism and the Middle East.

Indeed the section on communism offers several pioneering studies of real significance regarding Russia and the Middle East.

The editor, Dr. Laqueur, is connected with the Russian Research Center and the Center for Middle

Eastern Studies at Harvard University. The writers include both Western and Middle Eastern authors.

The first 150 pages of Dr. Owen's *Abraham to the Middle-East Crisis* is based on Biblical and apocryphal history. Chapter XVII, "In the Fullness of Time," deals with the life and work of Jesus Christ. There are many references in the account to supporting archaeological and historical research.

The next hundred pages or so are pretty much devoted to (1) the story of the Jewish dispersion and wanderings and (2) the rise and spread of Islam.

The last hundred pages consist of a quite balanced account of the tragic story of the Middle East from the time of the Arab revolt in 1916 to the Suez invasion of 1956 and its aftermath. The modern State of Israel gets a good deal of attention toward the end of the book, but not in such a way as to prejudice the case for the Arabs in the present Arab-Israel dispute.

Dr. Owen, formerly professor of archaeology and Biblical literature at Eastern Nazarene College in Boston, now resides in Colorado.

India Changes!, by Taya Zinkin. Oxford University Press, 1958. 233 pp. \$5.00.

India and America: A Study of Their Relations, by Phillips Talbot and S. L. Poplai. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper & Brothers, 1958. 200 pp. with index. \$3.75.

The Heart of India, by Alexander Campbell. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1958. 342 pp. with index. \$5.00.

The New India: Progress Through Democracy. Planning Commission, Government of India. The Macmillan Company, 1958. 412 pp. with index. \$5.00.

These four books will be of great interest and use to everyone who tries to keep abreast of the changes and developments in India.

If a person has time or inclination to read only one of the many new books appearing on India, we would earnestly recommend *India Changes!* This is a readable and, we believe, reliable report of transformations occurring in that fantastic country. The author discusses what is happening in many important aspects of Indian life—the village, Hinduism, the position of women, marriage and family, family planning, social relationships, the caste system, medicine and hygiene, and the status of minority groups. There are brief but useful and insightful chapters on Gandhi, the work of the saintly Vinoba Bhave, community projects, Nehruism, and the irrelevance of communism in India. A great amount of information, much of it based on the author's personal experiences, is presented.

Mrs. Zinkin is correspondent in India for *The Manchester Guardian* and other British, French, and German papers. Her husband, a former member of the Indian Civil Service, is a well-known authority on Indian economic affairs.

In *India and America*, Dr. Talbot, an American authority on Indian affairs, and Dr. Poplai, Secretary-General of the Indian Council of World Affairs and editor of *Indian Quarterly*, working with study commissions in the two countries, have presented an extremely useful review of Indian-American relations.

Among the subjects discussed are international and domestic communism, the place of Pakistan in Indian-American relations, regional problems in their bearing upon the relations of the United States to India, economic problems, and issues of colonialism and human rights. We wish there were space here to reproduce in full the introductory chapter of the book, which traces the deep parallels underneath the superficial differences in the development of the two countries.

The book underscores the importance of Indians and Americans understanding each other. Indeed, this reviewer feels that one of the most important needs in international relations right now is this understanding. The study is bound to have many implications for Indian-American relations on the level of governmental policies. The Council on Foreign Relations is again to be complimented for a solid contribution to international co-operation.

Alexander Campbell, author of *The Heart of India*, was for three years connected with the New Delhi Bureau of *Time and Life*. His book is an account of experiences and impressions gathered on trips into all parts of India during the three years of his Indian assignment.

It should be said that Mr. Campbell's account deals with the unusual, the bizarre, the fantastic, the decisively off-beat, the dramatic. The story is highly personalized. This book is fun to read, and useful if one reads with discrimination. It reveals some aspects of Indian life that many of the recent books on India do not treat.

The New India is really a progress report on the Second Five Year Plan.

The first part of the book is a background and review—India's problems and assets, the First Five Year Plan, emphasis on social justice, the eight basic decisions underlying the Second Five Year Plan,

the Second Five Year Plan in outline. The bulk of the book deals with particular aspects of the second plan, such as rural development, community development programs, land reform, co-operatives, agricultural advance, irrigation and water power, industrial targets, medium- and large-scale industry, village and small-scale industry, mineral development, transport, communications and broadcasting, scientific and technical research, education, health, labor, housing, urban development, social welfare, the outcasts, displaced persons. In each of these sections, the highlights and targets of the second plan are indicated and the program described.



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